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III. *An Explanation of an ancient Inscription discovered at Rutchester, the last Station in England, upon the Roman Wall, 1744 ; by John Taylor, LL.D. Chancellor of Lincoln, and Register of the University of Cambridge.*

Read Jan. 15.
1746-7

	IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO:
	SEVERO. ANTONINO.
AV.	PIO. FELICI. X. PARTHIC.
i. e.	MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM.
Augusto.	MAX. PONTIFICI. MAXIM.
	TRIB. POTEST. XVIII. IMP. II.
	COS. IIII. PROCOS. P. P. COI. I.
	FIDA. VARDVL. CREO ⊗ ANO
	<u>NNANA. FECIT. SVB. CVRA. TCO</u>
	LEG. XX. GR.

According to the Copy given me by Dr. *Hunter* of *Durham*, who copied the Inscription this last Summer.

This Inscription addressed to *Caracalla* has nothing in it very singular, except the Title of the Cohort that dedicated it, namely,

FIDA. VARDVL. CREO ⊗ ANONNANA.

Concerning which I shall offer these few Conjectures.
The

The *Varduli* were a People of *Hispania citerior*, mentioned by *Pomponius Mela* and others; and are recorded now, in no less than three Inscriptions, to have served in *Britain* as Auxiliaries. The two other are printed in *Horsley's Britannia Romana*, *Northumb.* N°. xciv^d. *Durb.* xxvi. We find Troops of several Nations to have been here upon the same Occasion, as *Cohors prima, secunda, &c. Batavorum, Dacorum, Nerviorum, Tungrorum, Delmatarum, Thracum, &c.*

This Cohort of the *Varduli* is intituled FIDA, a very common Appellation, and moreover CREO&A-
NONNANA; the last Letters of which I separate, and read without inserting a single Letter ANTONINI-
ANA, thus, ANONNANA. Nothing is so frequent in Inscriptions, as this compendiary Way of writing ANTONINVS, and its Derivatives. Thus in *Horsley's* Inscriptions,

M.AVR.ANTONNO.PIO.

North. cxiii.

M.AVRELI.ANTONINI.PII.FELIC.

North. xciv^d.

COH.III.BR.

ATONNIA.

North. lxxvi.

Upon this Hint therefore I am persuaded, that when the Stone is next inspected, these little *Apices* will appear, which are easily overlook'd, when this brief Manner of Writing is not expected or attended to.

In regard to the Appellation *Antoniniana*, it is observable of the ancient Militia, that several of their Cohorts and Legions, as well *Roman* as Provincial, complimented themselves with the Imperial Surname, of which I shall produce some Instances.

DIS. MANIBVS.
C. ANTONI. C. F.
OVF. AEGRILLI.
MIL. LEG. VII. CLAVDIAE.
PIAE. FELIC. ET. FIDEL.
VIX. ANN. XXXIIX.
M. VII. D. VIII.
M. AEGRILIUS. FRATRI
DVLCISSIMO. F. C.

Gruter. DXXI. 4.

I. O. M.
COH. I. AEL.
DA. GORD
.ANA.

Horst. Cumberl. VIII.

i. e.

Iovi Optimo Maximo COHors I^{ma}. AELia DAcorum
GORDIANA.

NVMINI FOR
TIS. FORTVNE.
M. AVRELIVS.
MARINVS. MIL.
COH. VII. PR. P. V.
SEVERIANAE.

Gruter. MXIII. 10.

i. e.

COHortis VII^{ma} PRatoria Pie Victricis SEVE-
RIANAE. But

But the Imperial Addition ANTONINIANA is perhaps the most frequent of any, as the Name of *Antoninus* was assumed by a long Series of Emperors.

DEAE. EPONAE. M. OPILIVS. RESTIO.
MILES. LEG. XXII. ANTONINIANAE. P. P. F.

Gruter. LXXXVII. 4.

H. D. D.
DE ABVS. MATR.
IVLIVS. REGVLVS. MI
LES. LEGIONIS. VI.
ANTONINIANE.

Gruter. XCII. 2.

D. M.
MARINA. SECVN
DINA. VIX. ANN. LIII.
L. AVRELIA. SATVR.
VIX. ANN. XXI.
L. AVRELIVS. INGENVVS.
MILES. LEG. XIII. GEM,
ANTONINIANAE.
MATRI. ET. SO
RORI. POSVIT.

Gruter. DXXVIII. 3.

D.....

ET. MEMORIAE.
AETERNAE. VE
GETINIAE. RO
MANAE. MEM
MIVS. RVSTICVS.
MILES. LEG. V.
VICTRICIS. AN
TONINIAN. CON
IVGI. INNOCENTISSI
MAE. LOCO. PERE
GRINO. DEFVNCT.
P. C. ET. SVB. ASCIA. D.

Reinesf. VIII. 68.

But more particularly the two following, as they both bear Date under *Caracalla*; and one of them the very Year of his fourth Consulate, when he was collegued with *Balbinus*, and of consequence nearly coæval with ours. This is to be seen in *Gruter*, XLIV. 2. and runs thus:

P. AEL. VICTORINVS. ROMANI. VIVENI. F.
AVRELIANA. POPA. MIL. COH. V. PR. ANTONINIA
NE. P.V.7. VERI. HERCVLI. DONV. POSVIT. LIBI
ENS. VOTO. VT. GRATIAS. AGO. DEDICAVIT.

III. NON. NOVEMBRES.

IMP. ANTONINO. AVG. N. IIII. ET. D.
CAELIO. BALBINO. II. COS.

The other is somewhat earlier, and bears Date between his second and third Consulate.

IMP.

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO.
 ANTONINO. AVG. SEVERI. F.
 TRIB. POT. VIII. COS. II.
 COH. I. VIG. ANTONINIANA.
 CN. RUSTICVS. RVFINVS. PRAEF. VIG.
 TIB. CLAVDIVS. MARCELLINVS. TRIB.

etc.

Reinesf. III. ult.

There is yet a third, which, besides the Title *Antoniniana*, and the Correspondency of Date (for it was erected in the Consulate we have been speaking of) is likewise remarkable for the same *Scriptura compendiaria*. I shall give it whole from *Gruter*, CVIII. I.

IN. H.	D. D.
GENO. SANC	
TO. M. AVREL.	
CL. POMPEIAN	
VS. MIL. LEG. VIII.	
ANTONINAE	
AVG. B. F. COS. K.	
IANVAR. IMP. D. N.	
ANTONINO. IIII. ET.	
BALBINO. II. COS.	

What remains to be accounted for is CREO⊕. Which Letters if any one should compare with *Horsley's Durham* Inscription, N°. xxvi. where mention is made of the same *Varduli*, he will find a very strong Resemblance;

Resemblance; and be apt to conclude, that what explains the one, will bid very fair to explain the other. That Inscription runs thus,

. O. M.
 AT. COH.
 VARDVLOR.
 CREQ ∞
 V.S.L.L.M.

CR then I take to be distinct Marks, and expressive of *Civium Romanorum*. And of this I find little Room to doubt, when I observe the same Marks applied to several Corps, who were as strictly Provincial as our *Varduli*; such as *Afri*, *Asturientes*, &c.

L.PRAESENTIO.L.FIL.
 LEM.PAETO.
 L.ATTIO.SEVERO.
 PRAEF.COH.I.AFR.
 C.R.EQ.IVDICI.SELECTO.EX.
 V.DEC.PR.AVXIMI.PAT.COL.
 AEDILI.II.VIR.ANCONAE.

Gruter, CDLIX. 9.

SEXTL.CLASENO
 PRAEF.COH.
 III.ASTVR.EQ.C.R. etc.

Gruter. CCCLXXXVII. 3.

DIANAÆ
SACRAVIT
T.FL.
ITALICVS
PRAEF.
ALAE.I.VLP.
CONTAR.
∞.C.R.

Gruter. XL. 3.

DEIS DEALVS.
ALA.I VLP.CONT.
∞. C.R.CVI.PRE.
Q.ER.INGENVVS.

Gruter. II. 6.

But still more exprefly,

..... CEREALI.
...LEG. III. GALLICAE
... III. COH. GALLICAE.
*civ*IVM.ROMANORVM.

Gruter. CDXCIX. 3.

And moreover what kind of Citizens, we are told
more than once; *viz. Juris Italici.*

T.FL.BARSI.V
ETER.ALAE.I.FL.
AVG.BRIT.
∞.C.R.IVRIS.ITALICI.
MEMOR. FR
ATRI.SVO.POSVIT.

Gruter. DXLI. 8.

T.F.VERECVND.
MAG EQVES.ALAE.
I.FLA.AUG.BRIT. ∞.
C.R.IVR.ITALICI.

Gruter. DXLII. 7.

The Freedom of the City had been for some time before this a regular Reward for the Fidelity of the Provinces, or any other military or civil Merit. The famous Oration of the Emperor *Claudius*, or the Act for incorporating the People of *Vienne* in *Gaul* (a large Fragment of which is preserved in *Gruter*, p. DII.) is a remarkable Instance of what I have advanced. QVID. ERGO. NON. ITALICVS. SENATOR. PROVINCIALI. POTIOR? EST. IAM. VOBIS. CVM. HANC. PARTEM. CENSURAE. MEAE. APPROBARE. COEPERO. QVID. DE. EA. RE. SENTIAM. REBVS. OSTENDAM. SED. NE. PROVINCIALES. QVIDEM. SI. MODO. ORNARE. CVRIAM. POTERINT. REIICIENDOS. PVTO. For so the last Words must be emended, as they have been restored by *Reinesius* and *Grævius*.

Afterwards, probably a little before the Date of our Inscription, which is near the End of the Reign of *Caracalla*, came the general Constitution of that Emperor; the Memory of which being fresh might probably occasion the Insertion of the Words *Civium Romanorum* in this Monument. *In orbe Romano qui sunt, ex Constitutione Imperatoris Antonini Cives Romani effecti sunt*, are the Words of *Ulpian*, in the first Book of the *Digest*. *Tit. de Statu Hominum*, Law XVII. That the *Antoninus* there mention'd was our *Caracalla*, is abundantly made good by *Baron Span-*
hem,

hem, in his Comment upon that Text. To which let me add the Words of *Prudentius*, produced by the same learned Writer upon the Occasion.

*Hinc frenaturus rabiem Deus, undique gentes
Inclinare caput docuit sub gentibus isdem,
Romane sique omnes fieri quos Rhenus et Ister,
Quos Tagus aurissius, quos magnus inundat
Hiberus.*

*Corniger Hesperidum quos interlabitur, et quos
Ganges alit, tepidique lavant se, tem ostia Nili.
Jus fecit commune pares, et nomine eodem
Nexuit, et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit.*

What remains $EO\otimes$, I would restore $EQ\otimes$, according to the Model of the *Durham* Inscription produced above :

COH.VARDVL.C.R.EQ. ∞ .

For the Difference in Stones is so minute in this Particular, that I will venture to pronounce, tho' I never saw the Inscription, it may as well be one as the other. And I read the whole Title of the Cohort thus :

COHors Ima FIDA VARDVLorum Civium Romanorum *Equitata*
Milliaria ANTONINIANA.

Concerning which I have something to offer.

The frequent mention of Equestrian Cohorts, or, to speak more adequately, of *Cohortes Equitatae*, in old Inscriptions, I observe to have been a great

Choque upon several Antiquaries, who have been taught to consider the Cohorts as appropriated to the Foot Service, as the *Alæ* and *Turme* were to the Horse. Mr. *Morsley* in particular, *p.* 94. imagines, the *Cohors prima Claudia Equitata*, which he met with in the *Notitia*, was intended to intimate, that this Cohort had been promoted from the Foot to the Horse Service. But when that Gentleman was led, by the Mark or Monagram in the *Durham* Inscription refer'd to in these Papers, to consider that Corps as consisting of a thousand Horse, his Difficulty is increased to that Degree, that he does not know what to affirm upon it. Now of all this there is a very easy Solution.

The Auxiliary or Provincial Cohorts (for of them only I observe what follows) were either intirely or purely Foot, like the Legionary and ordinary Cohorts; or else they had a Mixture of both Kinds of Militia, and consisted of Horse and Foot together.

IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F. DOMITIA
NVS. AVGVSTVS. GERMANICVS. PONTIFEX. MAXI
MVS. TRIBVNIC. POTES. XII. IMP. XXII. COS. XVI.
CENSOR. PERPETVVS. P.P.
PEDITIBVS. ET. EQVITIBVS. QVI. MILITANT. IN. COHO
RTE. III. ALPINORVM. *etc.*

Gruter. DLXXIV. 5.

This latter Sort, as they could not properly be rank'd under either Denomination of Horse or Foot, (for they were made up of both) seem to have appropriated to themselves the distinguishing Title of *COHORTES EQUITATAE*, Corps of Infantry with a
Mixture

Mixture of Horfe. And of this Term, fo very significant, and fo little understood, I find frequent Mention.

L. BRVTIO. L. F.
PAL. CELERI.
EQVO. PVBLIC.
PRAEF. COH. III. AVG.
THRAC. EQVIT.

Gruter. DXXXIV. 2.

Q. CAECILIO. Q. F.
AN. OPTATINO.
PRAEF. COH. I. AQVI
TANOR. EQVIT.
PONTIA. T. F. SABI
NA. MATER.
FLAMINICA.
L. D. D. D.

Gruter. DXXXIV. 4.

P. LICINIO. P. F.
GAL. LICINIANO.
PRAEFECTO.
COHORTIS. VII.
PRAELECTORVM.
EQVITATE. IN.
GERMANIA.
TRIBVNO.
MILITVM. LEG.
VII.
EVIA. PRAEFECTO.

Gruter. DL. 4.

P. LICINIO. P. P.
 GAL. MAXIMO.
 PRAEFECTO.
 COHORTIS. II.
 GALLORVM.
 EQVITATE. IN.
 DACIA. TRIBVN.
 MIL. LEG. VII.
 CLAVDIAE. PIAE.
 FIDELIS. P. LICINIUS.
 LICINIANVS.
 FRATRI.

Gruter. DL. 5.

M. MAENIO. C. F. COR. AGRIP
 PAE. ET. VSIDIO. CAMPESTRI.
 HOSPITI. DIVI. HADRIANI.
 PATRIS. SENATORIS. PRAEF. COH.
 II. FL. BRITTON. EQVITAT.
 ELECTO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO.
 ET. MISSE. IN. EXPEDITIONEM. BRIT
 TANNICAM. TRIB. COH. I. HISPA
 NOR. EQVITAT. PRAE. ALAE. I.
 GALLOR. ET. PANNONIOR. CATA
 PHRACTAE. *etc.*

Reines. VI. 128.

Nor have we these Testimonies only, but also a full and decisive Proof of this Denomination, and, what is yet behind, of their Number also, in a Writer very well vers'd in military Affairs, *Hyginus*, who wrote

wrote a Treatise *de Castrametatione*, in the Time of *Trajan*. From him we are informed, that these Troops were call'd *Milliaria*, as consisting of a thousand private Men, Part Horse and Part Foot. The Proportion of the former of these to the latter was nearly as one to three, *viz.* 240 to 760, instead of 250 to 750. Which little Difference was possibly occasion'd by the Necessity of dividing them into *Centuriæ* and *Turmæ*. The Author's Words are:

Habet Cohors Equitata Milliaria pedites septingentos sexaginta. centurias decem, equites ducentos quadraginta, turmas decem.

And again;

Meminerimus itaque ad computationem cohortis equitatis milliariæ pedaturam ad mille trecentos sexaginta dari debere.

Which is to be thus explained: The *Pedatura* of this irregular Corps, in their Incampment, would not be the same as the *Pedatura* of an uniform Body of Infantry, of the same Number, but would exceed it by 360 Feet; for the Proportion of the Room of one Horseman to one Foot-Soldier he assigns as $2\frac{1}{2}$ to one

Omnis miles provincialis accipit pedaturam, pedem, adjecta quinta — eques autem duos semis, adjecta quinta. — Habebit itaque Cohors equitata milliaria equites ducentos quadraginta, quos redigo ad peditem, ut pedem, quod accipit miles, ad duos semis, quod accepit eques. Fit dimidia sumpta ductum quinquies: sic tractabimus numerum equitum, fit centum viginti: ducemus quinquies, fiunt sexcenti:

sexcenti: accedunt ex eadem Cohorte milliaria, detractis equitibus, reliqui pedites septingenti sexaginta: fit cum superiori mille trecenti sexaginta.

For the Mark \oplus I account thus: The usual Note of a Thousand is either I between CC's, thus CIO; or else X, thus CXO. The former Figure, when closed at the Top, exactly resembles an ancient M, thus \ominus ; and the latter, when shut up, a Figure of Eight inclined ∞ . Both which Marks have been long used to express a Thousand. The latter is the Mark before us, the X between CCs, but closed in on all Sides, thus, \oplus , if this be in Reality the Figure upon the Stone. For Mr. Gordon in his *Iter Septentrionale* copying an Inscription, wherein there was the Mark of four Thousands, gave us the Thousand inclosed on all Sides, the very Mark in our Inscription; but upon Mr. Horsley's Inspection it turned out to be the second Figure, the Thousand inclos'd only at both Ends thus ∞ .

The last Part therefore of the Inscription is to be thus understood:

COHors I.^{ma} FIDA VARDVLorum Civium Romanorum Equitata Milliaria ANTONINIANA FECIT SVB CVRA T. CO..... Legati, Tribuni, or Centurionis LEGionis XX.^{ma} Genio Romæ.

Which last Words are to be applied to the Emperor, and contain a Compliment at that time of Day not unusual.

St. John's College, Cambridge.
Jan. 1. 1744-5.